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THE WAR OF 1914

FROM AN AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW

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PRELIMINARY

We daily peruse with feverish interest the most recent news from the greatest war that has ever decimated the human race: one in which millions of men are engaged on each side, and beside which all previous great struggles for supremacy seem like phantom shades. I have seen the smallest children, hardly large enough to be sent on errands, diligently spelling out the headlines as they hurried home with their little burden, almost oblivious of the passing traffic. I have also noted the impatient openings of the metropolitan sheets by elderly hands, too frail to hold them securely in their grasp.

On one side we have arrayed Germany and Austria, and on the other, Russia, France, England, Belgium, Servia and Japan.

Whatever we may think of the aims of Germany and of the reasons which have led her to unsheathe the sword, we cannot but admire the fixity of purpose, the sacrifices, and the intelligent powers which have enabled her to create an army of such organization, strength and spirit, that it to-day practically defies the rest of Europe.

This wonderful spectacle may well challenge us to study carefully the fundamental ideas which lie at the bottom of German thought, as well as the positions of her enemies which have brought this great nation to her final stand for supremacy.

On September 18, in an article in the "Boston Herald," I endeavored to show some of the causes of the present war. They were divided into two classes, as follows: —

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES

1. Antiquated forms of government, Czars, Emperors and Kings, with their powers, ambitions, huge armies and navies, and secret diplomacies. These must go and true democracy be substituted.

2. Racial hatreds, natural and cultivated; lack of intelligent and universal education. These must be overcome by a higher order of patriotism.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES

1. Dangerous alliances and ententes.

2. The Slav's hatred for Austria, resulting in assassination.

3. The promise of Germany to support Austria in any action she might take, although it might lead to war with Russia.

4. Russian sympathy for the Slav, and her gaze upon Constantinople.

5. French revenge against Germany.

6. England's interests; her mistrust of Germany and her support of Belgium and France.

7. The dislike of "Great Powers" to show any signs of weakness, or of backing down on any matter, however trivial, and also their policy of allowing no other nation to get the start in military preparations when trouble is brewing.

Then followed a narration of the facts on which this statement was founded.

Since that article was written, a large number of books and pamphlets have been published by travelers and scholars which add materially to our knowledge of events connected with the war and make it possible to amplify this digest made in the middle of September.

WHO CAUSED THE WAR?

I have been asked several times: What nation is most responsible for the present war, and what were the causes? Not an easy question for solution, as may be imagined — but as it is a fair question, I have sought for a brief answer.

Germany and Russia are chiefly responsible and the causes were that Germany was openly ambitious to become the greatest of the "World Powers," a position nominally held by England, and Russia was determined to fight for the Slav. Both of these great

combatants stood ready for a war and neither liked to give way.

The excuse for the declaration of war by Germany on Russia on August 1 was ostensibly founded on the expressed belief of Germany that Russia was mobilizing on the German frontier as well as on the Austrian. From the full correspondence, however, it appears that Germany objected decidedly to the mobilization against her ally, Austria.

Several telegrams passed between the Kaiser and the Czar from July 28 to August 1. On July 29, the Czar, referring to the strong pressure for war in Russia, said that he "might be forced to adopt measures which will lead to war," [1] undoubtedly referring to mobilization.

The answering telegram from the Kaiser contains the following: "Naturally, military measures by Russia, which Austria-Hungary might take as threatening, would hasten a calamity that we both wish to avoid." [2]

At 1 A.M. of July 30, just after his night session with his Counsellors, this telegram was sent by the Kaiser to the Czar: "My Ambassador has been instructed to call your Government's attention to the dangers and serious consequences of mobilization; I said the same thing to you in my last telegram. Austria-Hungary mobilized only against Servia, and at that she mobilized only a part of her army. If Russia, as appears from what you and your Government say, is mobilizing against Austria-Hungary, the position of

[1] Annex 21, German White Paper. [2] Annex 22.

mediator, which you intrusted to me in a friendly manner, and which I accepted at your urgent request, is jeopardized if not rendered untenable. The whole weight of the decision now rests on your shoulders; they must bear the responsibility for war or peace." Here was a clear threat of war if mobilization against Austria was not stopped.

At 1:20 P.M. July 30, the Czar replied: "The military measures now being taken were decided upon five days ago for defensive purposes against Austrian preparations"; and added that he hoped this would not influence the Kaiser to cease mediation.[1] On July 30, Sazonof stated that Russia had "absolute proof that Germany was making military and naval preparations against Russia more particularly in the direction of the Gulf of Finland." [2]

On Friday, July 31, the Imperial German Chancellor sent a telegram [3] to the Imperial German Ambassador at Rome, containing the following words: "But all our efforts are made much more difficult, if not impossible of realization, by Russia's mobilization. In spite of calming assurances, Russia, according to all reports that reach us, is taking such far-reaching steps against us also, that the situation becomes constantly more threatening."

On the same day, July 31, the German Chancellor sent the following telegram to the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg. "In spite of still pending

[1] Annex 23 A. [2] Russian White Paper, No. 97. [3] Annex 19.

mediatory negotiations, and although we ourselves have up to the present moment taken no measures for mobilization, Russia has mobilized her entire army and navy; in other words mobilized against us also. By these Russian measures we have been obliged, for the safeguarding of the Empire, to announce that danger of war threatens us, which does not yet mean mobilization. Mobilization, however, must follow unless Russia ceases within twelve hours all warlike measures against us and Austria-Hungary and gives us definite assurance thereof. Kindly communicate this at once to Mr. Sazonof and wire hour of its communication to him." [1]

On this last Friday in July, which may be justly called a "black Friday," the English Ambassador, Sir E. Goschen, had an interview with the Kaiser and telegraphed to Sir Edward Grey as follows: —

"Chancellor informs me that his efforts to preach peace and moderation at Vienna have been seriously handicapped by the Russian mobilization against Austria. He has done everything possible to attain his object at Vienna, perhaps even rather more than was altogether palatable at the Ballplatz. He could not, however, leave his country defenseless while time was being utilized by other Powers; and if, as he learns is the case, military measures are now being taken by

[1] Annex 24. According to Germany's White Paper this telegram was delivered at midnight.

Russia against Germany also, it would be impossible for him to remain quiet." [1]

Then followed a hint as to what was coming, and again: —

"His Excellency added that the news of the active preparations on the Russo-German frontier had reached him just when the Czar had appealed to the Emperor, in the name of their old friendship, to mediate at Vienna, and when the Emperor was actually conforming to that request." [2]

A second telegram on this same day from Sir E. Goschen to Sir Edward Grey was as follows: —

"Berlin, July 31, 1914.

"According to information just received by German Government from their Ambassador at St. Petersburg, whole Russian Army and Fleet are being mobilized. . . ." [3]

It appears from a telegram from St. Petersburg to Sir E. Grey [4] that this determination of Russia to mobilize the whole of her army and navy was "taken in consequence of report received from Russian Ambassador in Vienna, to the effect that Austria is determined not to yield to intervention of Powers; and that she is moving troops against Russia as well as against Servia."

"Russia has also reason to believe that Germany is

[1] White Paper, No. 108.
[2] White Paper, No. 108.
[3] White Paper, No. 112.
[4] White Paper, No. 113.

making active military preparations, and she cannot afford to let her get a start." [1]

On August 1, Germany sent a formal declaration of war to Russia, which was delivered at 7.10 P. M.,[2] and early the next morning she began the war by invading Luxemburg, which Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, declared "was only intended to insure against a possible attack of a French army. Full compensation will be paid to Luxemburg for any damage caused by using the railways which are leased to the Empire." The rapidity of these movements in the direction of a colossal war almost takes our breath away and may well lead us to the conclusion that it had been planned long before; in fact, since Bernhardi's writings have become familiar and since his mission to this country in 1912 has been revealed and since the plans suggested by him have been adopted in this war, we are not lacking for evidence that "the hour" had been amply anticipated.

If it is true, as stated in the preceding telegrams, that Germany had been making efforts for peace at Vienna, it is unfortunate that the official documents confirming those efforts have not been published.

I have purposely avoided including Austria's responsibility for the war in the above considerations, because it is so obvious that her severe course against

[1] White Paper, No. 112.
[2] Annex 26 and No. 76, Orange Paper.

Servia could only have been taken under the overshadowing protection of Germany.

As Austria lighted the match which started the conflagration, let us first turn our attention in her direction.

AUSTRIA–HUNGARY

Austria proper is a small country, but with Hungary and her Slavic Provinces she is much larger than Germany, although her population is only a little more than one-half that of Germany. Time does not allow us even a rapid glance at the seething maelstrom of Austria's political and social status, but there are at least two events which we cannot ignore, because they are so closely related to the present struggle. By the treaty of Berlin, two of the Balkan states, Bosnia and Herzegovina, were placed under the administrative control of Austria, who calmly proceeded in 1908 to take them into her permanent embrace. Of course, Russia peremptorily rattled her sword; Germany pulled hers partially from the scabbard; then Russia subsided, as she was infirm after her contest with the Japanese; but she never forgot her lesson, as we shall see when we come to consider the awakening of the stout-limbed bear.

For many years Austria has had difficulties from threatened revolutions within her borders and from conspiracies among the Slavic races of neighboring territory. Her aged Emperor, Francis Joseph, who

has reigned for sixty-five years, has occupied an important share of the attention of Europe, largely because it has been conjectured that, at his death, there might be some casting of lots for his coat of many colors. It has also been anticipated that there will be a passing of those Austrian dreams in which that nation became the ruler of the Balkans and the mistress of an outlet on the Ægean Sea.

Various plots and counter-plots were absorbing the attention of the diplomats of Europe, when a tragic event suddenly burst like a meteor from the sky and startled those trained observers who were wondering what the next important move would be in the destinies of Europe.

On Sunday, the 28th of June, a conflagration began which bids fair to be the largest that has ever visited our planet, and yet in America there was at first not the faintest suspicion of the momentous event which was stirring heart-beats across the water.

The Crown-Prince, Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne and nephew of the aged Emperor, with his morganatic wife, the Duchess of Hohenburg, were visiting a little watering place near Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. They drove over to the city and were received by a bomb which failed of its mission; then followed banners, flowers and speeches. The Prince said he was glad of the reception, but asked: "How about the bomb?" That little event was explained away. The Royal couple then insisted upon

driving to the hospital to visit members of their suite who had been injured by the first attack — when a second and more determined effort was made with bomb and revolver, and nearly at the same instant their lives were forfeited to the dictates of Slavic assassins.

With the results of this tragedy the world is now struggling, and yet, if it had never taken place, the same human passions would have been in time released and the same war as that which now rages on the German borders would have come. The Sarajevo incident furnished the pretext for action long anticipated.

What followed during the next three and a half weeks after this event we shall never know until the whole story is revealed, but it is quite certain that the chief actors measured well the important parts which they were to play. On July 23 that remarkable "Note" from Austria to Servia followed. With its terms we are familiar. That note meant war — Austria knew it; Servia knew it — and although she went as far as she could to meet the demands of Austria, she knew the "hour had struck." Austria and Servia began at once to polish their blades. Russia found some work necessary upon hers, while Germany's was already shining like a mirror.

The official declaration of war followed on July 28.

Among the "White Papers," of England, containing her complete diplomatic correspondence, will be found a long "Note" from Prince Lichnowsky, the German

Ambassador to England. This communication is dated July 24, the day following the date of the Austrian "Note"; it rehearses quite fully the German view of the Servian trouble and states: "It has become clearly evident that it would not be consistent with the dignity or the self-preservation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy still longer to remain inactive in face of this movement on the other side of the frontier, by which the security and the integrity of her territories are constantly menaced.

"Under these circumstances, the course of procedure and demands of the Austro-Hungarian Government can only be regarded as equitable and moderate."

I call your attention to the above language because it shows, quite clearly, from high official source, how completely Germany approved of the celebrated "Note," of which Sir Edward Grey stated that he had "never before seen one state address to another independent state a document of so formidable a character."

Later in the Lichnowsky communication that Prince goes on to state "that in case of a refusal to comply with the Austrian demands there would remain no choice "but to obtain the fulfillment of their demands from the Servian Government by strong pressure and, if necessary, by using military measures, the choice of the means having to be left to them."

Of course, no Ambassador, on his own initiative, in so important a matter as this, would have taken so strong a position. In other words, he must have been

instructed by his Government to make this declaration. But aside from this assumption, it fits in very well with other evidence of Germany's satisfaction with the note to Servia.

GERMANY

When Germany had given Austria a free hand to deal with Servia as she chose, "even though that might lead to war with Russia," she was not quite sure that "her hour had struck" — although it was evident that, with Russia fairly recovered from her late illness, the rattling of the scabbard might not bear the same fruit that it did in 1908. On a fair survey around the horizon, however, the landscape possessed many attractive features, for so far as could be seen, the other nations were unprepared for war. The hours remaining in the last week of July were lurid with threatening consequences; much midnight oil was consumed, as the grim spectacle of the war monster grew from the dimness of the distance to the zenith overhead. Finally on that most eventful day, August 1, which will ever be memorable in history, Germany drew her mailed fist across the threatening visage of the Russian bear and the deed was accomplished. All Europe awoke to the cries of war.

Let us now examine more carefully into the events which had absorbed the ambitions of the Teuton mind through the long years preceding the present culmination.

The Prussians who sank before Napoleon, only a little more than one hundred years ago, rose from the ashes of their defeat and resolved to re-create a nation. The true German spirit, passionately stirred, asserted itself and bent to the task of regeneration — and that it was an intelligent regeneration goes without saying. The national mind was turned first to education, then to physical and materialistic advancement.

It is unnecessary to consider the steps which have led to a united Germany, through the mazes of study and conquest, and which carried Bismarck to the pinnacle of his power. The rest of the world looked on, apparently oblivious of the mighty forces which were brewing. Year by year, and with unflagging industry, the teachers of a united Germany instilled into the plastic minds of the rising generations the picture of an enthusiastic and patriotic people, awakening to a proper sense of power, intellectual and physical, of patriotism which turned from no danger, and, above all, of a settled purpose, which nothing could divert, to surpass all other nations in military force as a means of conquest.

To understand these influences we must turn to the writings of the leaders of modern thought; historians, philosophers and professors, remembering with Professor Cramb that "There is no such stainless mirror of a nation's soul as German literature." Perhaps the most important, because the most often quoted, stand the works of Professor Heinrich von Treitschke, the bril-

liant historian; Friedrich Nietzsche, the philosopher; and General Friedrich von Bernhardi, the learned cavalry officer, whose prolific writings have so truly foreshadowed the military strategies of the present war.

Treitschke, like Nietzsche, was of Slavonic origin. He was born in 1834 and early imbibed the spirit of war from the heroes of Prussian history; a teacher at Leipzig, a Professor at Freiburg, Kiel and Heidelburg, he became an ardent exponent of the great destinies of his country. He lectured to crowded halls and his influence was far-reaching. He taught his countrymen the glories of the army and pictured in stirring terms the days of reckoning in store for the other nations when Germany should at length rise to a realization of her power. He was a firm believer and expounder of the religion of valor which he hammered deep into the minds of his readers. As the star of his own dreams rose with increasing brilliancy in the heavens, the lesser lights of other and decadent powers fell to the horizon and passed entirely from view. The passing literature of the war is full of extracts from Treitschke's teachings but I have only room here for two extracts, which, however, will give an idea of his views of life.

"The great progress of civilized man, as opposed to barbarism and unreason, can only be realized by the sword."

"The historian who lives in the world of will, is convinced that the dream of eternal peace is thoroughly reactionary. He knows that with the cessa-

tion of war, all progress will disappear from history. . . . The living God will take care that the terrible physic of war shall be administered to humanity again and again." [1]

Now for a glance at Nietzsche, the philosopher "who clears away the accumulated rubbish of twelve hundred years; the unappalled, triumphant, great and free, the apostle of the new movement for the aggrandizement of Germany; the discoverer of hypocrisy, preacher of altruistic egoism, definer of love, analyzer of sacrifices, creator of paradoxes on the Sermon on the Mount."

Nietzsche was no "penny-a-liner" picked up from the gutter. On the contrary, he was a great leader of thought. Here are some extracts from the better known of his writings: —

". . . We believe that severity, violence, slavery, danger in the street and in the heart, secrecy, stoicism, artifice and devilry of every kind — that everything that is bad, terrible, tyrannical, predatory and serpentine in man — serve as well for the elevation of humanity as their opposites." [2]

"What is good? All that elevates the feeling of power, the will to power, the power itself in man.

"What is bad? — Everything that proceeds from weakness.

"What is pleasure? — The feeling that power in-

[1] *Politik*, vol. I, pp. 72-76.
[2] *Beyond Good and Evil.* The free spirit.

creases, that resistance is being overcome; not contentedness, but more power; not peace, but war; not virtue but capacity. . . .

"The weak and defective are to go to the wall . . . and we are still to help them thereto.

"What is more injurious than any crime? Practical sympathy for all the defective and weak — Christianity." [1]

"Man shall be educated for war and woman for the recreation of the warrior. Everything else is folly.

"You shall love peace as a means to new war and the short peace better than the long.

"I do not advise you to work, but to fight." [2]

Nietzsche, who was later insane and became an object of Christian charity, stamped on charity where it lay athwart the law of selection and he derided Christianity for its nourishment of the sickly, degenerate and misshapen.

Bernhardi's book on "Germany and the Next War," published in 1911, outlines the opportunities of his country in the next war with almost prophetic accuracy. He pointed out the route through Belgium to Paris and if not the originator of the doctrine of disregard of neutrality treaties, was at least its ardent advocate. With almost impassioned words, he urges his countrymen to accept the alternative of world domination or ruin.[3] War is to him a glory, a biological neces-

[1] *The Antichrist.* [2] *Thus Spake Zarathustra.*
[3] "Weltmacht oder Niedergang."

sity. The opening sentence of his book gives the keynote of its appeals: "The value of war for the political and moral development of mankind has been criticized by large sections of the modern civilized world in a way which threatens to weaken the defensive powers of states by unnerving the warlike spirit of the people."

He adds: "It is our duty to make war." For him Germany means strife; the isolation of Russia by bribes; the destruction of France; and then the overthrow of England. There is a candid freshness of vigor in the calm and almost barbarous way in which this old soldier disposes of his enemies.

In his book on "How Germany Makes War" Bernhardi states, "the physical and moral health of a nation depends on its martial spirit"; "A German success in the north would lead straight to Paris." "If we wish to gain the position in the world that is due to us, we must rely on our sword " (p. xiv). "The probability of the Germans having to fight by sea and by land against greatly superior numbers is obviously near at hand. Their political development requires this combat as a biological necessity " (p. 159). "Paris is not only the undisputed and sole spiritual centre, but also the largest fortress and most important arsenal of the country. With Paris, France stands and falls." "I hope the German people will assert and maintain itself as the dominating race in Europe " (p. 262).

It must not be thought that the foregoing extracts

are solitary examples among the writers of Germany, on the contrary, German literature is teeming with similar instruction. That this instruction has at times been reflected by the public utterances of statesmen of the highest rank will be seen by the following extract from the speech of the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag on November 10, 1912: "For months past we have been living, and we are now living, in an atmosphere of passion such as we have perhaps never before experienced in Germany. At the root of this feeling is the determination of Germany to make its strength and capability prevail in the world." Is it to be wondered at that under such influences the quiet, orderly, hospitable and judicial citizen of yesterday has gradually become transformed into a builder of a huge military despotism, which Professor Hicks well says, "has at its disposal a supply of armament so vast as to give confidence for defying the entire non-Teutonic world? It has fostered in Germany (according to her most enlightened minds) a growth of the chauvinistic temper which has been for years poisoning and deadening the souls of the people. . . . Civilization everywhere is in danger, so long as that temper is allowed to spread and propagate itself."

With several millions of uniforms stacked in her warehouses and the men ready for their use, and a powerful fleet developing; with Zeppelin in the air and Krupp on the land, it remains to be seen in the results of the present conflict whether Germany took the

exact measure of her foes when she publicly declared herself in a position "to meet any contingencies." It is this difficulty of understanding the minds and resources of opponents which has cost many a people dear. On the other hand, we must remember that the Wilhelmstrasse has made most minute and comprehensive studies of all the nations likely to be opposed to her. But even with this advantage there is always the difficulty of gauging the success of a conflict by the process of putting two and two together.

The creation of an enormous army like that of Germany is essentially the perpetuation of the feudalistic idea founded on the belief that the only route to success is to snatch property from one's neighbor by the exercise of a strong military arm.

In the perfection of this weapon, we, as Americans, have no quarrel, although we may consider it unnecessary, unwise and even dangerous. As a defensive measure, created to withstand attack, or for the just punishment of oppression and wrong, it might be tolerated by the rest of the world, but formed for the avowed purposes of world conquest, the forcible imposition of German culture on the rest of mankind and for the shedding of blood in the true Prussian spirit, it stands as a menace to the peace of society and the civilization of the world. In protest against the crushing of minor nations, the spirit of fair play, so strong in this country, has always raised its voice and we may even go further and breathe a solemn prayer

that the God of our Fathers may interpose his will between a suffering humanity and the arbitrary aspirations of world-wide ambitions.

RUSSIA

Russia is to be seriously reckoned with by the nations of Europe, notwithstanding the fact that Japan recently conquered her by sea and land. This colossus of the north is so large and her natural resources are so great that defeat with her simply means a brief resting spell to recover her activities. Napoleon prophesied that in one hundred years Europe would be Republican or Cossack. He also said of the common soldier, "You have not only to kill the Russian — you must knock him over." The area of Russia is twenty times that of France and Germany united. It is 7680 miles east and west by 2732 miles north and south, containing 8,660,000 square miles, or about one-sixth the land surface of the globe; her population is 175,000,000 and is rapidly increasing, the birth-rate being much larger than that of any other nation.

There is no doubt that the Russians were deeply affected by their defeat by the Japanese and in recent years have been diligently at work to re-create an army which would do them justice. No expense has been allowed to stand in the way. With her first and second reserves she is reported to have an army of 5,400,000 men — but no dependence should be placed

on these figures as available in the present conflict, on account of the necessity of retaining large numbers in various parts of that great Empire.

The Russian soldier is generally illiterate, but is noted for his stolid obedience to orders. The following anecdote is related to illustrate this trait.

An officer asked a recruit: "Now, what should you do in the event of disturbances breaking out in this town, if you were ordered out on duty?"

"Shoot," was the answer.

"Very good! But supposing your father and mother happened to be among the crowd?"

"Shoot them all down."

"Splendid! But tell me now, if you were in the open field — in camp, for example — and should come across a cow or a calf, what should you do?"

"Shoot them down, your Highness," Ivan replied with great gusto.

"Nonsense! You should take them by the horns and lead them to the Generalska (the wife of the General).

"But if by night you met His Excellency, the General himself, a long way from the camp in the dark, what would you do?"

"Shoot him down."

"Nonsense!"

"Well, if I should not be allowed to shoot him down, then I ought to take him by the horns and lead him to the Generalska."

One of the surprising facts that stares us in the face is Europe's enormous Slavic population. The Slavs of Russia, Poland, Austria, and Servia number 111,000,000, the largest race in Europe; the next largest being the Latin race of Italy, Belgium, France, Spain, etc., 106,000,000; next comes the Teutonic or Germanic with 79,500,000; next the English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish with 46,000,000, and there remain 2,500,000 Greeks. Total, 345,000,000.

It appears but natural that Russia should take an interest in the welfare of the Slavic race, even in the Balkans. When, therefore, Austria, aided by Germany, took possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1908, the Russians were profoundly stirred. Had Russia then been in as favorable a condition as in June, 1914, the present war, in all probability, would have been started at that time. Russia in 1908 was prostrate from the effects of her war in the East, 6000 miles away from her base; but in 1914 she believed herself ready for a long struggle and she was determined to have a voice in the settlement of the Servian question. This may explain her feverish haste in mobilizing her troops on the Austrian borders as soon as Austria declared war against Servia.

There is one fact, however, in connection with Russian diplomacy which will always remain to her credit and will show, I believe, that she honestly did a great deal to avert war. When England, through Sir Edward Grey was devising so many ingenious plans

for peace, the Russian Government showed every disposition to accept them. On July 30, when Sazonof, the Russian Premier, was appealed to for some suggestion in the way of a last hope for peace, he wrote the following formula: "If Austria, recognizing that her conflict with Servia has assumed character of question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate principle of sovereignty of Servia, Russia engages to stop all military preparations." [1]

Russia's army was not in as thoroughly a fine state of discipline and organization as was Germany's, but sufficiently so for her to assume an offensive attitude. Both Germany and Russia were waiting for the signal. Germany thought herself thoroughly informed of the political and military positions of all of her foes and of the thoughts uttered and unuttered which were vibrating in their minds. She was conscious that the Northern Bear had begun to stretch his mighty limbs. She knew that Russia would no longer submit to see Servia crushed by Austria and that for a long time efforts had been made to place her army in a position to play an important part in the great struggle for world supremacy. In brief, Russia too was waiting for her "hour," although that hour was somewhat different from that of Germany. Her dogs of war were almost as restive as those of Germany. With the latter

[1] White Paper, No. 97. See also Nos. 102, 120 and 139 for plain statements of the Russian willingness to arbitrate the Servian question. In No. 139 Sazonof makes a comprehensive statement of the Russian attitude.

it was a question of "the sooner, the better." If it had not been for the angry positions of these two combatants, it is probable that the affair of Sarajevo might have been settled in a criminal court, where it properly belonged.

Now Russia is fighting Germans and Austrians along the easterly boundaries of Germany and Austria, just as the Allies are fighting the same enemies along the westerly boundary of Germany and in France and Belgium.

ENGLAND

The bitterest hatred of Germany for any of her foes was reserved for England. For several years France has hardly been noticed, for she had almost ceased to expand and was content to hold and nurture what she possessed. England, however, was a continual thorn in Germany's side. She was looked upon with scorn by the military party as a decadent and wealthy nation of shop-keepers, incapable of heroic action and desiring only peace. Germany placed herself beside England and her bosom swelled with pride at the contrast. Herself, she looked upon as superior both in strength and culture but bereft of colonies which should have been hers, while England was the owner of vast possessions in all quarters of the globe — secured by robbery and held by ties which might be easily severed. Her anger knew no bounds and it is recorded in many different forms.

One of the best presentations of the German-English question will be found in a small volume of collected lectures by Professor J. A. Cramb of Queen's College, London. The preface is written by Hon. Joseph H. Choate who refers to the intense hatred of Germany for England and her lofty ambition to establish a world Empire upon the ruins of the British Empire. Professor Cramb died before the outbreak of the present war and his words are of especial significance, because they were written in the calm light of peace and after a German education and long residence with the German people.

Professor Cramb deplored deeply the general ignorance in England of the serious works of German scholars and he utters a note of earnest warning to prepare for the struggle which he knew Germany was planning for the overthrow of England. It was, as he writes: "An imperial contest between the German Empire of the future, that is to be won only by war, and this British Empire whose chief interest now and in all the future is peace throughout the world." He studied deeply the real forces at work at the foundation of German thought — "forces which lie far deeper than such momentary ebullitions of goodwill as were expressed a short time ago by Admiral Tirpitz."

"For Treitschke it is not genius, it is not valour, it is not even great policy, as in the case of Venice, which has built up the British Empire; but the hazard of her geographical situation, the supineness of other nations,

the measureless duplicity of her ministers and the natural and innate hypocrisy of the nation as a whole. Those have let this monstrous Empire grow — a colossus with feet of clay. Along with this he has the conviction that such a power can be overthrown. And with what a stern joy and self-congratulation would not the nations acclaim the destruction of the island-state, old 'England,' old, indeed, and corrupt, rotten through and through."

It is said by those who are thoroughly capable of judging, that the hatred of England has been bitter for many years in Germany and that it survives hatred of all other nations; so deep is this feeling that every effort has been made to build a navy sufficiently strong to meet England upon the sea. In the case of the present war, however, when it was realized at Berlin that there was danger of England's entrance into the struggle, due to the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, every effort was made by Germany to avoid giving England an excuse for fighting and she even went so far as to offer several alluring baits, if she would keep out. It seems probable that Germany had expected that, with the troubles in Ireland, which had advanced to the point of the arming of the men of Ulster, followed by the arming of the South of Ireland, as a counter-move, together with troubles in other directions, England would be in no position to make war.

Germany would perhaps have paused in the rattling

of the scabbard, if she had known that she was going to meet England, Russia, France, Belgium and Japan. It was indeed a wonderful opportunity for England to exercise her might with telling effect, Russia and France combined having enormous armies, while England's navy ruled the seas. Germany of course expected according to the public teachings of her strategists to strike a rapid and deadly blow at France and then devote her energies to Russia. The logic of events already explained brought Russia and Germany standing up to each other after the challenge had been given by Austria to Servia.

To stop the wide impending conflict, England, through Sir Edward Grey, went as far as she could in the pursuit of peace for Europe. No stone was left unturned. Many ingenious plans were made for the acceptance of the other nations. As late as July 30 Grey notified Berlin: "If the peace of Europe can be preserved and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavour will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia and ourselves, jointly or separately." [1]

Time for negotiations, however, was soon shortened to hours instead of days. England took somewhat longer to declare war than the other nations and, as it turned out, Belgium met the first shock of Germany's

[1] White Paper, No. 101.

advance with so much pluck that the delay in the march upon Paris resulted in unforeseen disasters to the invader's arms. To an American, and at this distance, it looks as if Germany really selected an inopportune time for her great war. Possibly the advisers to the Kaiser were so intent on combat that they miscalculated the intent and power of their foes.

FRANCE

There is little to be said for France, her position in this war being so well understood by everyone. She had nothing to conceal. The France of to-day appears to an American to be quite different from the France of 1870. The blast of trumpets has given place to a sober determination to perform every duty to the State and to meet every attack of the enemy with courage and honor.

At the beginning of the war, the army was mobilized at a respectable distance from the frontier and the soldiers cautioned against any overt act which might be construed into an attack. That war was forced on France against her desires is proved by the statement of the German Secretary of State to Sir E. Goschen the British Ambassador at Berlin and which the latter communicated to Sir Edward Grey on July 30, as follows: "When they [the Germans] mobilized, they would have to mobilize on three sides. He [the Secretary of State] regretted this as he knew France

did not desire war, but it would be a military necessity." [1] So, like Belgium, France was forced into a war on account of "military necessity."

Fortunately for France, and, in fact, for the rest of the world, the gallant Belgians withstood the first onslaught of the Germans long enough for France to collect her troops into favorable positions; otherwise, the march to Paris would probably have fulfilled the expectations of the enemy. The halt in this first march also enabled the English to make their preparations for reinforcing the left wing of the French, forming with them an army which has since been known as that of the Allies.

On the fair land of France has fallen the principal part of the fighting of the western line of the German attack. Her towns and cities have been almost as much devastated as those of Belgium; her crops have been trampled by the feet of the invaders and her homes laid waste by fire and sword; her fields are covered with the corpses of the slain and even her rivers have, at times, been colored with the blood of her sons; yet no murmur has reached the outside world, of discouragement or lamentation. When Paris was at last threatened, the Government was removed to Bordeaux almost as if it had been a matter of everyday occurrence and the wheels of the civil machinery continued their revolutions in the new position without any signs of weakness.

[1] White Paper, No. 98.

With the great battles which have taken place in French territory we are all familiar. We watched with eager eyes that persistent and powerful attempt of the Germans to carry out their plan of marching to Paris after they had literally hewn their way through Belgium, and with bated breath we saw the Allied line retreating daily but struggling and fighting persistently hour by hour, until it seemed that human valor could stand the strain no longer; then, when victory seemed to be almost in the hands of the enemy, the tide of battle was pushed backward from the walls of Paris almost to the frontier. Never has the world seen such a series of hotly contested battles on so large a scale and stretching over such an immense distance!

The old Roman line of defense against the "German barbarians of the North" extended from the Rhine, over the Taunus Mountains to the Danube, but that long line bore only a faint resemblance to the present line in France from Belfort to Dunkirk with its millions of fighters and its strongly fortified positions.

The old Roman ditch with some of the masonry foundations is still in existence, and I have followed it on foot, over the Taunus Range. It is not improbable that two thousand years hence, some curious traveler may be able to trace the lines of battle on the French border by indelible marks which defy the tooth of time.

It is difficult for us at this distance to form an ade-

quate conception of the mental anguish which the French have already endured in a struggle which has perhaps but just begun. They are waging a war of defense and they have the earnest and heartfelt sympathy of the world. The old slogan of "On to Berlin" has given place to the battle cry: "Drive the invaders from the soil."

BELGIUM

This little state, whose 11,000 square miles of territory and 7,400,000 inhabitants lay almost within a stone's throw of three of the Great Powers, has probably excited more of the sympathy and admiration of the world than all of the other combatants. Her territory was apparently safely protected against ruin by ample treaties of neutrality, — "pieces of paper," signed by the powers and which should have been held sacred by them. All honorable men stand by their agreements; Courts of Law are constituted by civilized nations to enforce them. Words, however, fail us to express our condemnation of a large and powerful nation, armed *cap à pie*, the proud and arrogant asserter of such strength that she was "prepared for any contingency"; who calmly flung the "scrap of paper" to the winds and without the slightest compassion, when Belgium fulfilled her sacred duty by obstructing the invaders, tried her best to crush this independent state as an eggshell under her feet.

Never before was an innocent and neutral country more thoroughly devastated by the monstrous and malign exercise of military oppression. It is not even necessary for us here to name that civilized country, leader of modern thought, foster father to art and science, champion of might, foe to barbarism, advocate of culture, candidate for world power, hater of colonial thefts, exposer of national wrongs, humble devotee of peace, and defender of the cross, who publicly in her halls of council, acknowledged the wrong she was about to commit, but promised reparation and condoned the offense on the ground of "military necessity." This great and splendid nation proceeded to kill the defenders of Belgian firesides, burn homes, villages, cities and churches and to lay waste the whole of that wonderful little land whose only fault was her heroic defense of her own country.

To-day the remnants of the Belgian army are still carrying on the most strenuous efforts known in history to repel her foe. While a drop of blood remains in their veins, they seem determined to maintain their heroic defense. Their bodies may be weakened by exposure and famine, their minds strained by long vigils and fearful slaughter, but the spark of patriotic ardor still burns with the same pure light of undiminished enthusiasm that was manifest before the smoking ruins of their homes polluted the air of their native land.

Now Belgian refugees are scattered from England to

New Orleans; a large part of the population has been killed by the sword or fatigue, famine and disease; hundreds of thousands of families have been driven from their homes and have sought asylum in neighboring countries. Many will never recover from the shocks and horrors of which they have been innocent and unwilling witnesses.

For Albert, King of the Belgians, we have the heartiest admiration; he is no theoretical or nominal warrior; he loves his people and clings to them through every adversity; he shares with them every danger and fatigue and no sacrifice appears to weigh in the balance with the unremitting defense of his country and the welfare of his people. If every King or ruler were like Albert, we should be more lenient in our judgment of monarchies. It is one of the alleviating circumstances in this dreadful war that the hand of charity, full to overflowing, is reaching out from every land to the aid of the Belgians.

While it may possibly be wise for Americans who hold official federal positions to close their eyes to the gross violations of Belgium's neutrality, it certainly can never be anything but proper for private citizens to express their minds freely in protest against this colossal wrong.[1] The full extent of this wrong can never be imagined until the official correspondence connected with this crime is carefully reviewed; the

[1] Just as those who take the opposite view are given the liberty of the press.

hasty, absurd and conflicting excuses marshalled by Belgium's mighty foe to account for the breach of neutrality then become evident. If to these facts are united the many horrible punishments and humiliating penalties meted out to the brave defenders of their nation, our minds cannot fail to respond to the impulses of brotherly sympathy. History will undoubtedly expose in their true light these stains on the military and diplomatic parties of Germany.

STATISTICS

Statistics, as a rule, are not interesting and I shall touch them here briefly. Every one, however, wishes to form some kind of an idea of the number of men actually engaged in the war. There is no way of making an accurate estimate but from a summation of many statements it appears that there cannot be much less than ten millions.

On the westerly line of battle these are perhaps distributed as follows: —

Germans and Austrians	1,800,000
French, English and Belgians	2,200,000
Total	4,000,000

On the easterly, or Russian frontier: —

Russians	2,300,000
Germans and Austrians	2,200,000
Total	4,500,000

In or about Servia: —

Austrians	400,000
Servians	200,000
Total	600,000

Here are 9,100,000 men and if we add those engaged in the different navies, together with those fighting in the East we have practically ten millions.

The above estimate does not include the large number of men under commission or pay who are employed in supporting the active armies at the front.

CONCLUSION

No review of the war, however brief, can fail to deal largely with the part that Germany has taken in the struggle for victory — in fact, this may almost be called the German War, although nearly the whole of Europe and a part of Asia are concerned in its active progress. As to the causes that led to the outbreak of hostilities, there is much discussion and we know that they are varied and complicated, but there is one fact which seems quite evident even in a cursory study and that is that Germany, from her central position and the vast strength of her army, might have easily stopped the conflagration in its initiatory steps by raising a finger.

If the protestations of her diplomats had been sincere, that they desired above all things the peace of

the world, they might have arranged the difficulties between Austria and Servia without recourse to the sword.

As Americans we have but little patience with the subtle dangers of secret intrigues. That great nations should be perfecting every detail of military preparation for a struggle and at the same time filling the record with desires for peace, is past our comprehension.

Neither can we understand how highly honored names in commerce, arts, letters and diplomacy can be affixed to a public statement for circulation in the United States which contains so many and obvious departures from the truth as that pamphlet entitled: "The Truth about Germany," "Facts about the War," issued under authority of a Committee of Representative German citizens. The pamphlet to which I allude contains among others of a large Honorary Committee the names of Albert Ballin, Prince Von Bülow, and Dr. R. W. Drechsler, and among the Board of Editors, Prof. Francke, Paul Dehn, Count von Oppersdorff and other leaders of thought and deeds. The writers could have had but a poor idea of the common sense or ability of Americans if they supposed that the statements in this remarkable series of arguments could have been taken seriously in the United States. Listen to a few extracts: —

The Czar is made to appear as the "instigator of the unspeakable horrors that are now inundating Europe." "He bears before God and posterity the responsibility

of having allowed himself to be terrorized by an unscrupulous military clique." [1]

"Germany never before endeavored more eagerly to preserve peace than during the last few years."

"The preservation of peace was his [the Kaiser's] principal aim. He was actuated in this by the general consideration of humanity, justice and culture."

"The Vienna Government . . . addressed to the Servian Government a number of demands which aimed at nothing but the suppression of the anti-Austrian propaganda."

"Servia was on the point of accepting the demand, when there arrived a dispatch from St. Petersburg and Servia mobilized. Then Austria, too, had to act. Thus arose the Austro-Servian war."

"At the same time the German Government learned that the French were about to enter Belgium. Then our Government, with great reluctance, had to decide upon requesting the Belgian Government to allow our troops to march through its territory. Belgium was to be indemnified after the war, was to retain its sovereignty and integrity. Belgium protested, at the same time allowing, by an agreement with France, that the French troops might enter Belgium. After all this, and not until after France and Belgium itself had broken the neutrality, our troops entered the neutral territory. Germany wanted nothing from

[1] It is a curious fact that all the nations seem anxious to repudiate responsibility for starting this cruel war. Not one is proud of it.

Belgium, but had to prevent that Belgian soil be used as a gate of entrance into German territory."

"To-day we are facing hard facts. Germany has to fight for her existence. She will fight knowing that the great powers beyond the ocean will do her justice as soon as they know the truth."

"On the evening of August 3d the Imperial Chancellor called the leaders of all parties, including the Socialists, to his house and explained to them in a concise and impressive statement how furiously Germany had been driven to war."

"A thing that raised the national enthusiasm still higher was the appearance of the troops in brand-new uniforms, complete from head to foot. The first sight of these new uniforms, of modest field gray, faultlessly made, brought everywhere the question: Where did they come from?" etc., etc.

Such statements as these and hundreds of others of similar import are not worthy of notice. They will fail of their errands of "Truth" because to Americans they do not have the ring of the true metal.

One of the most remarkable features of the great European war of to-day lies in the attitude of Great Britain's colonies. Her great foe expected to see them weaken and fall away under the strain of war, but Canada has answered by sending across the broad Atlantic one of the most remarkable flotillas of transports crowded with troops that the world has ever seen. Thousands of men, with their accoutrements of

war, guarded by a fleet of battleships on all sides, sailed proudly over that great distance with as much security as if on parade or chartered for some mission of peace. Yet this great spectacle which would have proved so interesting, if we could have known the details, passed without a ripple of excitement. In fact, so far as the newspapers were concerned, no one knew anything about the matter.

This is practically true of other events connected with the greatest of all wars. So perfect is the censorship in every direction that we learn of important battles only after they have taken place and then only by most meagre accounts. There is occasionally a list of dead and wounded, but all the strategy, all the pictures of the vivid movements of attack and repulse, the call of the bugle for one more charge, the hand-to-hand encounter under the deafening thunder of bursting shells, is left for future historians to recount.

There is one other event connected with the entrance of the troops from India upon the firing line to which I should like to allude before closing this brief survey.

India under English rule has always been a favorite theme for the praise of friends and the criticism of enemies. The very word, India, takes our thoughts at once out of their accustomed grooves and transports them into a dreamland of Rajas, rubies, marble palaces, gorgeous costumes spangled with gold and

silver, and all other strange scenes connected with that Far Eastern civilization.

It was from India that the Germans prophesied another Sepoy rebellion with all its horrors and difficulties for England. The natives were thought to be waiting only for the hour of trial to arrive to rise against the hated rule. But how different the actual spectacle that confronts us!

Instead of rebellion, the war has acted only to weld stronger the ties that bind that great colony to the Mother Country and realms vie with each other in tokens of loyalty.

From the famine-stricken plain, glistening like a mirror beneath the sun, to the eternal snows of that mighty boundary of untrodden summits, the battle cry has echoed, and treasures of jewels and of men have been freely offered to swell the ranks of the defenders in the battle for freedom: freedom for the soul as well as for the body; freedom for the small nation as well as for the great; and most decidedly, freedom from the slavery of world domination by any one race or any one culture.

This is what the typical American stands for; he cannot see through any other glasses; and no amount of propaganda can persuade him that the allied nations are not now fighting a great world-battle for the maintenance of these principles.

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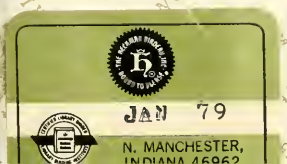
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